1: Freeman E-5 (1949-1951)1955 OC6 Iban OC6

off all way of escape. These traps are placed on level ground at the edge of a farm, and are directed against the *kra* (Macaca irus) and the *nyumboh* (Macacus nemestrinus), two species of monkey, both of which raid farms to eat the *upa*, or pith of the growing *padi*, and frequently cause serious damage. The *tinya* is a spring-pole snare with a tread-board and key-stick. Although the *tinya* is chiefly employed for trapping birds (in particular, the *ruai*, or Argus pheasant), it is also sometimes set in the jungle surrounding a farm, to catch small animals such as the porcupine, which has a penchant for cucumbers and other catchcrops. All of these traps are independently set by *bilek* families, and at Rumah Nyala, most men specialized in one type, so that not once did I encounter two different kinds of trap on the same farm.

243X 224

129. Other families try to protect their *padi* by erecting aeolian alarms at different points on the farm. A common type consists of a length (about 4 ft.) of mature and well-dried bamboo, its central internode left untouched, but the two ends pared away so they gradually taper to a point. Between these two points is strung a strip of bark, so that under tension the bamboo becomes bent like a bow; then, in the centre of the plaited bark, a hardwood clapper is fastened. With a sewn, palm-frond sail (about 2 ft. × 3 ft.) suspended from its base, this bow is hung from a lofty pole, and as it sways and plunges in the wind over the ripening *padi*, it gives out a resonant and cacophonous sound disturbing to wild animals.

243X 534

130. These various expedients—pallisades, traces, traps and aeolian alarms—all contribute to the defence of a farm, but they are never sufficient in themselves. In January or February, when the whole crop begins to mature, more active measures have to be taken. It is then that subsidiary watch-houses are built, and brought into regular use. Some *bilek* families take up permanent residence in their *langkau umai*, [illegible]he others try to arrange that at least one of their number spends the night in [illegible]ing the *padi*. All Iban are convinced that the jungle is inhabited by spirits, and some, like the dreaded *antu gerasi*—the 'spectre hunts-men' of the forest—are believed to attack human beings, causing sickness and death. The existence of these and other perils of the night means that a woman is not prepared to stand solitary guard in a *langkau umai*, but always insists on having the company of another woman, or her older children. Because of this fear small *bilek* families are often at a disadvantage. (The failure of the crop of one *bilek* family at Rumah Nyala—No. 14—was directly attributable to the fact that the only female worker, a girl of about 15 years, was afraid to visit the farm alone, and as a result it was very inadequately weeded and guarded). Men, on the other hand, do keep solitary watch, and regularly patrol their farms at night. To-day, 12-bore shot-guns are coming into general use (in January, 1950, 14 of the 25 *bilek* families of Rumah Nyala possessed shot-guns), and these greatly aid the farmer in his task. In 1950, several of the more energetic and conscientious men of Rumah Nyala constructed rough shooting platforms at the edge of their farms, and there lay in wait, night after night, during February and March. Deer, pigs, monkeys and a bear were among the animals shot in this way. Men not possessing guns patrol their farms once or more during the night armed with a long-handled, hunting spear (*sangkoh*) and a bush-knife (*duku*), and often accompanied by dogs.

243X

[343] [776] [411] [343] [411]

131. Women (and old men) adopt purely defensive measures. Brass gongs (*bebendai*) are hung from the rafters of the *langkau*, and beaten at regular intervals throughout the night. Others rely on a simple xylophone, consisting of a single, straight bough (6 ft. × 6 ins. in diameter, and taken from the *lup* tree), which,

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9. After the firing of the farms: the burn has been a bad one and to clear the land for sowing the farmer is gathering scattered branches and making bonfires of them. This operation is called *ngebak*. Photograph taken on 3rd October, 1949; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 372

10. Dibbling taking place. The man is wearing a loin-cloth (*sirat*), the traditional garment of Iban males. Photograph taken on 15th October, 1949; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 243X 291

11. An Iban woman sowing *padi*. The burn has been an exceedingly poor one, but the farmers have no recourse but to sow their *padi* amid the fallen timber that still covers the land. The woman is wearing a sun-hat (*tanggi*). Photograph taken on 3rd September, 1949; Sungai Saban, Ulu Sut, Kapit District.

12. A young Iban girl amid ripening *padi*; on another part of the farm reaping is already in progress. The stumps are those of virgin jungle (*kampong*), and beyond lie the hills of the Mujong. Photograph taken on 21st February, 1951; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 243X

13. A young man setting a spear-trap (*peti*) at the edge of his farm to protect it from wild pigs. He is wearing a hand-woven jacket (*kelambi*). Photograph taken on 4th March, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 224 291

14. A watch-house (*langkau umai*); with walls and roofing of bark, it is strategically placed in the centre of the farm. In the foreground young *padi* is springing up. Against the front wall of the hut a tying-frame (used in *ikat* weaving) is leaning. Photograph taken on 21st February, 1951; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 343 285

15. An Iban woman guarding her farm. The *padi* in the background—the second successive crop from virgin jungle—has already been reaped. Photograph taken on 20th February, 1951; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 243X

16. Reaping in progress: the woman is gathering the panicles one by one and placing them in the reaping-basket (*sintong*) which is fastened about her waist. (The *padi* shown here is that of a test plot which gave a yield equivalent to 42·8 bushels per acre). Photograph taken on 24th April, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District.

17. After reaping the *padi* is packed in large carrying baskets (*lanji*) and transported back to the *dampa* or long-house to be threshed. Photograph taken on 22nd April, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 482 415

18. Winnowing taking place on the open platform (*tanju*) of a farm house (*dampa*). One woman pours the threshed grain from a basket (*baka*) while the other fans with a winnowing tray (*chapan*). Photograph taken on 12th April, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 243X 415

19. A woman planting *tengkenyang*—magical plants which are believed to watch over and minister to the needs of the growing *padi*. They are planted close to the sacred rice (*padi pun*) in the centre of the farm. Photograph taken on 15th October, 1949; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 243X

20. An old man and his daughter making an offering to the *padi* spirits (*antu padi*) during a *nganjong ka penyadai* ritual. This important ritual inaugurates the harvest. The offering (*piring*) can be seen resting on the ground between the two officiants. Photograph taken on 7th March, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 782

21. In the reaping basket (*sintong*) which this young man is carrying is the seed (*benih*) of the sacred rice (*padi pun*) of his *bilek* family. Dressed in an *ikat* jacket, worn in honour of the sacred rice, he is taking part in a ritual to celebrate the conclusion of the harvest. Photograph taken on 20th May, 1950; Sungai Sut, Kapit District. 415 482 291

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Plate 13. Setting a spear-trap (*peti*) against wild pigs.

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Plate 14. A watch-house (*langkau umai*) built in the centre of a farm.

5: Roth E-4 (no date) 1892 OC6 Iban OC6

462 into the far interior, or plunge into the jungle in quest of its produce.

243 As a rule the women have to do all the weeding (*mantun*) by
137 themselves; this is a very laborious task, as the weeds grow so
177 rapidly as to threaten to choke the paddy unless promptly removed. Another grievance is the grass, originally called *rumput teku*, but since nicknamed *rumput blanda*, and which they declare was introduced by the whites to feed their cattle on. It is now a proverbial saying with them that it is impossible to get rid of this grass, likewise is it unprofitable to shake off the rule of the white man.

243 As the paddy begins to ripen, the men return to their homes
784 and the families remove entirely to their farms, where there is plenty to do to scare away the birds and other pests and to prepare for the harvest. The paths intersecting the farm are
[688] closed at this season, and no one can traverse them without paying a penalty or sin-offering of a fowl and a bit of iron. Those who may be suffering from positive want, having exhausted their last year's stock, now glean of the half ripe paddy as much as they require for their immediate necessities; this is called *humbar*.

243 But when the paddy is fully ripe they all turn out, men and
251 women, boys and girls, with knives and baskets and pluck the
415 ripe ears with a few inches of stalk; these are then carried home and put out to dry, after which they are thrown into an enormous sieve suspended from the roof of the house, and threshed by the action of the feet, the grains falling through on to a mat placed underneath on purpose to receive them. After thorough drying in the sun, they are put in tubs made of bark
[313] (*tibang*) and stowed away in the loft or else housed in a hut, built on purpose for them hard by the village, the posts of which are furnished with wooden discs immediately below the flooring to prevent the rats from entering. The Dyak method of pounding the paddy to free it from the husk by means of pestle and mortar is injurious to the grain. By it the hard outer skin which protects it from the weevil is broken and this insect soon takes advantage of the circumstance to attack and destroy it. In the husk or paddy state the rice can be kept for years without injury.

The Punans and Kajamans farm meagrely; they prefer the sago to rice and grow the palm.

2. *Habitations.*

361 A Sea Dyak village is a terrace upon posts varying in length according to the number of houses of which it is composed, and

342 621 When a family builds a temporary pelaboh with the intention of adding onto the longhouse in the future, its members are not considered fully participants in the affairs of the house by members who are living in the house proper. However, when a family builds a pelaboh of more enduring materials in order to give up the bilik to a son and his family, as in the case of Umpi, his generosity earns him the praise of the community of which he is readily acknowledged a full participant.

342 231 The area under the longhouse generally is wet and cluttered with litter that drops through slats into the floor. Chickens are placed in rattan baskets that are suspended from the underside of the ruai, and fed by moving a plank of the floor. Pigs root about in the muck, penned in by split bamboo fences behind and before the house and released in the early morning to grub about for any roots and insects in the secondary growth.

366 Each of the four houses, and a majority of the 37 houses surveyed, has a shophouse conveniently located nearby where matches, sugar, salt and tinned milk and meat can be exchanged for rubber or pepper. Enchul Apai Jimmy has operated his shop successfully for more than 15 years at Rumah Gaong, and Ambas Apai Suda has profited from his shop at Rumah Nyala for the past ten years. Enchul's shop is off his tanju', and Ambas' is located twenty yards from the end of Rumah Nyala.

343 Other buildings, such as smoke-houses for processing rubber and, in some communities, separate houses for chickens, pigs and goats, complete

343 [231] [491] the layout of the settlements. In the case of Rumah Gaong, Enchul has built a cattle-shed for his 15 head of cattle, a watering pond, and garage-storage shed two miles distance from Rumah Gaong and at the end of the three mile road which he had extended into his property from the Durin Road.

361 Site plans for Rumah Nyala and Rumah Gaong are included on the following pages to indicate visually the relative positions of the buildings in the settlements.

D. Land Tenure and Use

423 [181] To describe the Ibans as a land-hungry people is no misstatement. Previously, they desired new land for the practice of shifting cultivation. Today, many realize the economic potential of land on a highly inflated market, and some are sellers, other speculators.

The movements of various groups of Ibans into the Sibu District were similar in the practices and principles followed in use and tenure. When members of a community entered a new area, they discussed and decided among themselves how much land would be needed by each family involved. Each family in turn was allotted the amount agreed upon-ten fathoms, twenty fathoms - on the water's edge, and then the distance cleared from the river depended upon the labor-force and industry of each family. But, one principle that was firmly applied was that each unit had to clear straight away from the river and parallel to families on either side. It may be imagined that this gave rise to a number of land cases in which the issue

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 339]